/46 cont./

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iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 I99 556

In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

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Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Goajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/56 cont./

881 The duration of the seclusion was longer in past years,
184 longer than at the present time, and there still may be found
556 cases among rich families where this period is extended to five
years, but normally among poor families it may last only one
month or even less, and in the middle-income group it averages
six months to one year.

884 Once the family in conclave or the mother and the aunts
881 decide to terminate the seclusion, the final feast is given, in
which the girl appears and behaves as an adult. She is pre-
sented as such, and she is given the opportunity to occupy the
place of, and to take part in the activities corresponding to,
a marriageable young girl. Frequently at this feast some in-
terested guest may offer to buy her for his wife.

881 The news of the "coming out" of the young girl is rapidly
spread throughout the peninsula. All the friends of the family
arrive at the feast, as also the important people of the region,
who have been invited beforehand, and, very specially, all
the well-to-do marriageable men. If the woman is of estimable
qualities and talents, /57/ those who are looking for a wife for
the first time attend. The family preparations for such a feast
are very complete, according to their status. There is an
abundance of drinks for all, men and women, music for
dancing, horse racing when they want to give more splendor to
the gathering, and slaughtering of animals. The maternal
relatives make their donations and meet to help their relatives
in the fulfillment of the customary norms of hospitality. The
more important visitors are received in the house itself and
given preferential attention, according to their standing. The
[308] girl is bathed for the last time at dawn with the traditional
earthen jugs of water, and her hair is cut in the fashion, that
is to say, leaving it a short, disheveled mop. This is done by
an experienced woman of eminence who can transmit her
excellent personal qualities to the girl. The latter carefully
keeps her hair in her bag with her intimate personal possessions
and later places it under fresh cow dung with the hope that she

/83 cont./

583 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [301] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and

1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this [578] indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [554] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /84/.

556 583 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

/84 cont./

556 583 raising is the basic occupation of the Guajiro wherever the soil permits of agriculture during certain times of the year. The worth of a woman is similarly determined. She aspires to be paid for in cows, which show that her physical, spiritual, and social qualities are being adequately paid for, that her traditional rank and the power of her kin is justly valued, that the education that she has received at puberty is appreciated, that her standing as a married woman is going to be maintained adequately, and that her children will have an identical valuation, which means that her social status will be improved.

The Guajiro woman is so eager to be paid for in cows that the lower-class women (we do not know if the higher class do also) resort to an act of magic to help achieve this end, an act consisting of burying their hair when they cut it under cow dung.

583 Ways of paying. Paying for the woman entails the right to take her as a wife and can be effected in the following ways: When the man is rich, he hands over the purchase price in one payment, a sign of personal prestige which indicates his own economic capacity and that of his group, who do not need to make a large payment in installments. This makes the bride's relatives very proud because it shows they have made an alliance with a group of power and prestige.

But the most commonly used system allows two payments: the first, on a day agreed upon before the marriage, and the other, some time later. The first payment, as we have seen, confers the right of matrimony. On the due date the livestock arrive, driven by the servants of the bridegroom's maternal family and accompanied by the uncles who arranged the purchase of the woman. These make a ceremonious handing over of the livestock in order to put their payment on record. Then it is the turn of the bride's maternal relatives to comply with all the duties of hospitality, the warmth of which is in direct relation to the size of the payment and, above all, to their standing. If the bridegroom's relatives arrive early with the livestock, the arfgrash (the eldest man of the family) orders a small bull killed

/131 cont./

844 wrapped in clothes either specially prepared for the event or improvised. The umbilical cord has already been tied by the midwife, and in the cases of unaided childbirth the mother does this herself, even cutting it with a splinter of wood and tying it as best she can with a vegetable fiber.

164 844 The midwife or the mother takes the afterbirth out of the house and throws it some distance away (a custom of Upper La Guajira) so that it shall be lost. They believe that if they bury it the newborn baby will have bad luck, will sicken and slowly die practically by wasting away. Nevertheless, there are regions, as in Uribia, where the custom prevails of burying it outside the house; in other parts, as in Jarara, the usual way is to put it under a fireplace /fogón/, which is then lit to give strength to the child and ward off infantile sickness.

845 When the delivery shows signs of complications or is abnormally delayed, the male consanguineous relatives in the house are asked to help by lifting up the woman by her armpits during the spasms of labor pains and by this means accelerate the process. Her husband may help at these moments, but at the present time children, youths, and virgins are not allowed to be present, although there are regions, such as Jarara, where the woman gives birth in a passageway or under the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, in full view of everyone, even her small children. There is no concern at all over this matter; childbirth is considered a normal phenomenon and unmarried women may also be present. /132/

[554] Rich and powerful women go to Maracaibo to have their children when their previous births have been difficult, as there they have clinics and doctors at their disposal.

844 Midwives. The midwife is a woman, usually married, who has lived her own professional experiences and has had further experience among her consanguineous relatives. Practice, inborn ability, and empirical knowledge of the phenomenon give these women a certain technique which makes them so famous that their services are greatly in demand. Some of them also know what care and attention the pregnant woman should receive as regards

/132 cont./

diet and the magic prevenatives required for a healthy baby and an easy delivery; they also often have a knowledge of the properties of certain herbs of which they make frequent use in the exercise of their profession, as well as the magic requisites necessary to counteract the ill-effects of the violation of some taboo during the period of pregnancy, a transgression which may cause abnormally long labor.

For this reason their services are very efficient and highly valued by the community; on their experience and the success of the cases they handle during their career depend their reputation, their popularity, and the fee they receive.

The midwife's position is an honorable one. Hers is not an occupation that can be looked down on; although it is not practiced by women of high class, it does give those who exercise it a certain elevation in their familial and general status.

Prior to the birth an arrangement is made regarding the services of the midwife. She is paid according to the economic capacity of the future mother, adding something more to the agreed-on fee when the delivery happens to be extremely prolonged and difficult, that is, when it requires greater effort and assistance than the normal case. The usual payment includes a length of material for a robe (ten yards) of the color and quality requested by the midwife; several bottles of rum (five or more); some ornament, etc. The midwife's request is not always the same but varies in accordance with her personal needs at the time. Also she must be well fed all the time that her presence is necessary in the home of the mother.

Postnatal regimen. Guajiro mothers follow a special regimen which is in accordance with their social position. Those of strong clan groups who have at their disposal a large number of women servants and slaves can enjoy /133/ the luxury of remaining undisturbed without being bothered by any domestic duties, aided by their maternal kinswomen or those who replace them in caring for them. Guajiro women say that when the first child is born it is customary for the mother to remain in bed and out of the sunlight

/139 cont./

for one month, taking light food such as thin mazamorros with milk, cajuna /chicha made of sour milk/, etc.; to be bathed with hot water at daybreak by her kinswomen or by the midwife, who also take charge of the newborn child and of all domestic activities. As the first delivery takes place in the home of her uterine kinswomen, these activities naturally are reduced to a minimum. When the second child arrives, if the delivery has been easy, the period of care is shortened, and in the following deliveries the rest period is restricted to what her domestic duties will permit, so that she gives birth in her own home and in many cases alone.

Among the poorer classes, in which the woman carries the burden of all the domestic chores, such as attending to her husband and carrying out economically lucrative crafts in addition to agricultural work and collecting, etc., the /special/ regimen followed by the mother becomes very attenuated. Her activity is not really interrupted except while she is giving birth and from that moment her normal life continues. In the hamlets on the outskirts of Uribia, we had the opportunity to visit two women who had just given birth. The births had taken place in an enramada /bough-covered shelter/, and afterward with the newborn babies in their arms, the mothers went about their ordinary household duties. They did not even protect themselves from the burning rays of the sun, as one of them was out in the open just at midday, cooking trupillo pods to eat and going about her other domestic work. In reply to our remarks on this behavior, she said that she did not feel in the least indisposed and she was not accustomed to follow any special regimen at all. We got the same reply from the other Guajiro mother, who said that she had gone on with her normal activities the same afternoon that she had had her child. One woman was from Jarara and the other from upper La Guajira.

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit 764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the 554 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face, and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is put in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin [177] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous 764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all acquaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death, as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially [202 554] to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent as soon as the sick man worsens, so that at the time of his death, the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks, water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he 764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows 551 that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would [202] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says: "That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore, none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

[21conn.]

755 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is or-
971 ganized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this
event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the
participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened
with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's
[534] family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered
by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum.
In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats
and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock
in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick per-
[515] son is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with
soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is
permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he
resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient
should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The
process of these cures may last up to two months, according to
the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized
[534] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a
patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be
given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they ap-
proach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing
[273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made
from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their
families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with
291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the
755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made
796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma-
556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which
hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they com-
plete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of
coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their
finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover
the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a
wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than
755 the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily
796 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth

[43 cont.]

755 of the same -- the bone which is left to dry and then cooked --
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that
836 related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
937 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tumu, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
825 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals -- which are [44] to accompany

[9C cont.]

§32 witchcraft have "whispered" over them, that is, when they repeat over them a series of magic incantations which have the object of giving them the power to make a man, or men, love the owner [F] as she may desire, and especially her husband when it is the case of a married woman.

We have seen in previous paragraphs how the hair of a pubescent girl serves as a base for men to make magic charms which can be used against the girl. But the hair of such girls in different circumstances serves to attract men in general and causes a woman to be looked on with such deference by a man that he buys her to take as a wife at a good price. For this §26 reason the young Guajiro women, especially those of the Sierra 302 de Jarara, keep their hair when it is cut. At times to make the action more effective and to obtain better and quicker results, §37 they place it under a patch of cow dung. The association of their hair with cow dung is founded on a socio-economic phenomenon which we might briefly clarify.

§56 We have seen repeatedly that wealth in La Guajira is 583 calculated by the number of heads of livestock that an individ- §32 ual owns; and it can be observed how a wife in their social organization is obtained by purchase. When the buyer is a rich man he pays in heads of cattle or horses; when poor, in goats and sheep. Hence it is clear every woman aspires to be paid for in cows and in a greater number than those paid for other women, as this establishes an advance in her social status. This is the reason why she buries her hair under cow dung and not that of any other animal. She has made a very primitive association but §37 one that speaks for itself. It would appear that the magic attraction is brought about by the dung, and the result desired are increased if this is from the cow, the animal of most value in La Guajira.

§26 In any case, young women are most careful about leaving their cut hair about where it could be picked up by another person, and for this reason they guard it all their lives, giving it in this way a sacred quality. This characteristic which we have called sacred stems from the magic connection established by the primitive between a person and the different parts of his body, to

2: Pineda Gloria--117 8-6 (1947) 1950 SC:3 Goajiro SC13

prayers and special acts of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic powers.

Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him in the adventure he is about to undertake. He then replaces the charm and starts on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or bathe, for should he do so he will become mad.

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
796 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
831 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
[432] each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[554] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
796 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who becomes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

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536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for example in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cultural Anthropology], XI, 194-195.

[156 cont.]

3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect related to magic is in connection with the status derived from wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their intercian struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurfra-Páta, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kunina Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

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A great part of the Guajiro's personality is molded by this institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

4: Petrullo E-5 (1938) 1937
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the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native language. Some of them know how to read and write. They are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture. Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory. Many of these castas or social groupings are further subdivided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally. The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields of Zulia. The life of the poor people has not changed much since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her husband. The children inherit property and social affiliations through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be-

St Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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bank I could only reach 1700 feet, the limit of the Indian gardens, where plantains, maguey, onions, corn, sugar-cane, &c., were growing; also a rivulet with running water. The ground about here is well cultivated, supplying most of the Guajira with grain food. Many small low ranges of hillocks dedicated to agriculture live here; they are all poor, as agriculture is not considered wealth among the Indians.

The second or central range, which for want of a better name I shall call Parashi Hills, are entirely separated from the Macuira range by a plain some nine miles broad. This plain gradually rising from both ends, reaches 600 feet towards the centre. These hills rise at Bahia Honda almost from the margin of the bay, and stretch as a narrow belt right across the peninsula. Formed of ridges of low hills seldom exceeding 1200 feet, covered with a scanty wood of brasiletto, dividivi, cacti, and other prickly bushes, intersected by valleys, one mass of prickly pear, they present a decidedly forlorn appearance two-thirds of the year, yielding, however, during the short rainy season abundant pasture. In this range, as with the former, there are two prominent peaks. The northerly one, a conspicuous object from Portete and Bahia Honda, is called Ziruma. I ascended it with much difficulty, and found the height to be 1000 feet. Sierra Ipapa, marked on some maps, is probably Ziruma.

Some 15 miles south of Ziruma, Guajarapa rises well out of its surroundings. This, the highest point of the range, does not exceed 2200 feet, and must be the Cerro Azulio of the Spaniards, supposed to be the highest peak in the Guajira, but it is now that Macuira dominates it by at least 600 feet. A portion of this range is also called Cerros de Jolluruva from a vendue at the foot of Guajarapa. Between the highest peaks and towards the south is the extensive plain of Ateiya. We now come to the third or Cojoro range, separated by a rather tortuous valley, varying much in breadth, about six miles at the narrowest place. These hills are more extensive than either of the two first, and show many peculiarities, being flanked on all sides by numerous isolated knife-like ridges, some running parallel to each other with broad valleys between, while others are complete segments of circles. Towards the Macuira'no above are several large mountain masses. The highest, Yaripishe, is a wonderful mass of igneous rock some 2600 feet in height. Close by, another mountain, Anipana, plays a prominent part in the landscape. All these hills, like Parashi, are destitute of vegetation, many so steep that the bare rock and stone-slides put all idea of growth out of the question, and with their weird shapes, immense boulders, and caves, form a fitting retreat to the Cacique or Rubber Iguana. The celebrated Tota Guajira may be considered as belonging to this range, for although entirely isolated and some nine miles distant, it is indirectly attached by two small separate hills. The Tota is certainly one of the most beautiful sights in the Guajira, and

9: Simmons K-9 (ca. 1882) 1885
BC13 Conklin BC13

[53] vending anything being landed duty. The Colombian Government
[54] erected a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Bermudez makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie to and a the breakers. This is the last recognized Colombian port, as here ending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Lagoon de Tumaco, in the Gulf of Monompire. This place is much frequented by Tumaconians, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already decaying commerce of Rio Dulce. The last port on the coast is that of Cajaro, and spoken of as the future port of Monompire, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The coastwise or bay of Colombia has an immense shoal, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

64 The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are subdivided into many families or castes, having much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or native family binds itself against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Guajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic
• 556 in their ideas, wealth and interest are contiguous. A poor man may be
[57] married with impunity, when the same to a rich one would cause certain bloodshed. They have no verifiable rules, but each community
[62] recognizes the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been decided by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian here goes, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever lands he may accumulate, his lowlife origin would never be forgotten; he
[56?] could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and his children would become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs.
64 Besides the castes, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Guajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among them the "Uriana." This, the largest caste in the Guajiro, has subdivided or split up into many combinations, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana porkmate (a long bird), Uriana gruba (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connection by marriage with the Pushaines, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushaines are to-day still
[55?] great holders of tenure and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the tenure, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epiayras, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Sumoons, again under these the small caste of the Georgeetyras. A full list will be given

5:Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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whom to exercise his begging proposition. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's remains, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more cows. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. [551] [628] [689]

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira eushirua tushin," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, ach-ooke, is one thing, and to demand compensation, nawpa, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is sworn, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Atalpa. Some Piaboloos drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two cows, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two strapes of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. [672] [682] [424] [426] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and strapa, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being kapuapa, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "earthen cura pearra," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— [881] [278] [262] [556] [368]

6: Santa Cruz E-8 (1940) 1941
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Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 604 183 431 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's oldest son. All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 431 604 Ilaro is the oldest son of a man named Rafael living at Uribia, and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushana sib. Ilaro's mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the oldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors. Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well [556] fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware [234] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives [422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

7:Belinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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115 685 And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now forbidden pleasures of her girlhood.

124 When I went on trips in the surrounding country I usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

124 556 We began our exploration of the brown hills and green valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Ituhor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched 342a background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the [417] fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals. [352a] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

123 352 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to with the years, and other strings of beads were put round their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines. Only the women took real pains about painting themselves. It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all over with black or red paint. This was not done for the sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sunburn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent. If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has secret significance. The women showed my wife red and brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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The Guajiro not only trafficked with the whites, but they did a lively trade with each other, using cattle as their currency. Thanks to this there was a form of incipient specialization. Pottery and weapons were the main articles of trade. The rich bought those made by specially skilled craftsmen, who made so much money that they concentrated largely on producing things to sell. The poor had to make all their own things. Everywhere there were people who could weave and spin, and make pottery, but those who could afford it liked to buy what was best and loveliest.

We wanted to buy articles in general use, but the irritating thing was that the rich did not need to sell and only did so if it amused them, or if they got an especially good price; while the poor had nothing to sell. Those who made these articles as a craft liked to use materials bought from the whites. In the old days they used to weave their textiles of homespun cotton thread dyed with vegetable dyes; now they not infrequently bought dyed woollen yarn from the whites, but in that remote part of the peninsula they had not yet begun to do so. We saw that they had plenty of hammocks made of bast and cotton yarn. These were larger and more comfortable than was usual and were made with a different technique. The hammock is the genuine Indian bed, invented in the jungles of South America before the white man ever came there, and has the advantage of being easy to take about and cool to lie in, while the sleeper is protected from all the unpleasant and dangerous insects of the ground.

Throughout the journey we had slept in hammocks—you have to get used to them before you find them comfortable—as long as there was somewhere to hang them. We now told the Indians that we wanted proper hammocks, the kind they themselves used, for we had bought ours from the whites. That started the bargaining.

There was seldom any question of buying for cash—they did not have much confidence in the white man's money—so we had to barter for what we wanted. We soon discovered that apart from our knives, the Indians undervalued all our goods. If we had not had a large case of knives we would never have managed to assemble the collections

7:Bolinder T.5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast. 843 [224]

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother often has to undergo another period of confinement, it being thought that all the rules had not been observed during her real period of puberty, and that that had an unfavourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are not observed, there is danger that the other children will also die. 766 844

My wife came back and told us that the child was born and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch, so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose herself to the sun. 844

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening when the mother goes to bed; at three in the morning when everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the better families the child is weaned with the help of maize gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it, the mother having so many other duties. There are even some who keep wet-nurses, he said. 846 [556] 853

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and 854

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

Francisco had travelled with Father Crispin and knew the district. He advised us to halt for the night early in an Indian rancho ringed with a stout cactus palisade, where friendly people lived. We could have gone farther, and the Indians with us who were going to the funeral carried on, but then, according to Francisco, they would not have been welcome at the rancho. We never learned the ins and outs of the Indians' friendships and enmities.

At the rancho we bartered a piece of raw sugar against a sheep. Both our pack and riding animals were already tired. They had had far too little fodder and the water was salt. The Indians were up before cock-crow, as always, and we let them get the mules ready. If we could just get to Castilletes, they should have fodder and decent water: we needed provisions ourselves. But what about the sheep, asks the attentive reader. That went the same evening we bought it, our hosts partaking of it as heartily as our own people. It went, offal, guts and all. When nothing but the bones were left, these were split and the marrow sucked out. Then the women gathered up the remains for broth. That sheep cost the equivalent of fourpence-halfpenny. Our means were limited, but at such prices we could at least afford to feed our men. The difficulty was in getting hold of things to eat. The Indians know how to tighten their belts and are prepared to starve for a while, if need be, but they must have a blow-out now and again.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area (Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

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When migrating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

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Urianas are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy "tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or rancheria) consists of related sib members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders if one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the sibs is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the sibs, but each sib or subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for

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622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $5,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
574 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

8:Armstrong & Metraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as intermediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her husband may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states
that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews.
(See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[554 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
184 in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[781 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

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reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.

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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

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goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position.

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled.

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the

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Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL. (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that